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## **Suicide by occupation in England: 2011 to 2015**

Ben Windsor-Shellard and David Gunnell

## **Abstract**

**Background:** Previous research has documented marked occupational differences in suicide risk, but these estimates are 10 years out-of-date and were based on potentially biased assessments of risk.

**Aims:** To investigate occupation-specific suicide mortality risk in England 2011-2015.

**Method:** Estimation of indirectly standardized mortality rates for occupations and occupational groups based on national (Office for National Statistics) data for England.

**Results:** Among males the highest risks were seen in low-skilled occupations, particularly construction workers (SMR 369, 95% CI 333-409); low skilled workers comprised 17% (1,784/10,688) of all male suicides. High risks were also seen among call and contact centre workers (SMR 290, CI 204-399); there was no evidence of increased risk among some occupations previously causing concern - male health care professionals and farmers. Among females the highest risks were seen in artists (SMR, 399 CI 244-616) and bar staff (SMR 182, CI 123-260); nurses also had an increased risk (SMR 123, CI 104-145). People in creative occupations and the entertainment industry: artists (males and females), musicians (males) and actors (males) were all at increased risk, though the absolute numbers of deaths in these occupations were low. In both males (SMR 192, CI 165-221) and females (SMR 170, CI 149-194), care workers were at increased risk and experienced a considerable number of suicide deaths.

**Conclusions:** Specific contributors to suicide in high-risk occupations should be identified and measures, such as workplace-based interventions put in place to mitigate this risk. The construction industry seems to be an important target for preventive interventions.

**Declaration of interest:** None

## **Introduction**

Previous research has documented marked differences in the risk of suicide in different occupational groups,<sup>1</sup> but most studies focus on single occupations<sup>2,3,4,5</sup> and the most recent studies for England are based on data from more than 10 years ago and some used potentially biased methods to assess risk.<sup>6,7,8</sup> Analysis of deaths registered between 2001 and 2005, found the highest risk of suicide in males was among health professions and agricultural workers, and in females among health as well as sports and fitness related occupations.<sup>6</sup> Changes in the workplace together with the availability of census data on occupation mean an updated assessment of occupation-specific suicide risk is timely.

Three factors are thought to contribute to occupational suicide risk. First, job-related features such as low pay, low job security and risk of injury are important;<sup>9</sup> debt, unemployment, and physical health problems are, in turn, well-recognized risk factors for suicide.<sup>10,11</sup> Second, selection effects whereby people who are potentially more vulnerable to suicide, because of specific personality or behavioral characteristics, may choose particular occupations e.g., caring professions, publicans.<sup>7,12</sup> Third, some occupations provide ready access to, or technical knowledge about, highly lethal methods of suicide such as drugs or firearms; this physical and cognitive accessibility increases risk, as suicide attempts are more likely to result in death.<sup>2, 3, 12,13,14</sup>

Based on an Office for National Statistics (ONS) review of occupational suicide risk,<sup>15</sup> this paper presents an analysis of occupational suicide risk for deaths between 2011 and 2015 in England.

## **Method**

Using data held by the ONS on death registrations in England during the calendar years 2011 to 2015, Standardized Mortality Ratios (SMRs) were calculated for suicides among people aged 20 to 64 years old for each occupation.

Suicide was defined as deaths given as an underlying cause of intentional self-harm (ICD-10 codes: X60-X84) and deaths due to injury or poisoning of undetermined intent (Y10-Y34); most of the latter deaths are thought, on clinical review, to be likely suicides.<sup>16</sup>

The deceased's occupation at the time of death is recorded on the death certificate and, in some instances, is based on the last occupation of the deceased if they were out of work (e.g., due to retirement, being unemployed, being sick etc.). The ONS codes this information using the Standard Occupation Classification (SOC2010);<sup>17</sup> which includes nine major groups of occupations, and more than 350 individual occupations. To provide the population at risk, population counts for occupations among those who said they were employed, also coded to SOC2010, were obtained from the information collected at the 2011 Census. We restricted the analysis to people aged 20 to 64 years to improve the comparability between the occupation recorded at census and that at the time of death registration.

We summarize the occupation-specific risks of suicide using the SMR (indirect standardization). This commonly used measure establishes whether the number of suicides in an occupation is high or low relative to age- and sex-specific patterns of suicide in the broader population (i.e., all usual residents in England aged 20 to 64 years). Other studies<sup>6, 7, 8</sup> have quantified occupation-specific risk using the Proportional Mortality Ratio (PMR); the PMR establishes whether the proportion of total deaths due to a specific cause (e.g., suicide) is higher or lower than the proportion of deaths due to that cause in the wider population, and is often used in the absence of reliable population denominators. A limitation of the PMR is that, in healthier / higher income occupations, the incidence of some common causes of death such as cardiovascular disease and cancer is low; hence suicide, as a proportion of all deaths among those in these occupations, will be high, leading to a spuriously high estimate of risk. To estimate SMRs we used Stata (version 11). We used age- and sex-specific rates of suicide in England (2011-2015) in 5-year age-bands to calculate the number of suicides expected in an occupation, given its age structure. The ratio of the observed to the expected number of deaths

is multiplied by 100 to provide the SMR. An SMR higher than 100 indicates a greater risk in that occupation; values less than 100 suggest a lower than expected risk (e.g., an SMR of 150 means a 50% increase in risk relative to peers of the same age and sex in the population). We calculated SMRs for males and females separately because of the marked sex differences in suicide rates and variations in the proportion of men and women in different occupations. In this paper, we focus on occupations where there was statistical evidence that risk was higher or lower than that expected, as indicated by the range of the lower and upper 95% CIs excluding 100. We restricted our analysis to occupations with at least 20 deaths.

Rates of unemployment and inactivity vary considerably by occupation. As death certificates may record the last occupation of the deceased if they were unemployed or inactive, levels of risk among occupations associated with high levels of unemployment or ill health may be overestimated, particularly as unemployment or disability are associated with increased risk of suicide.<sup>10,11</sup> To assess the impact of this on our findings, we conducted a sensitivity analysis using data from the UK's Annual Population Survey 2011-15 to estimate the number of employed, unemployed and economically inactive people aged 20-64 in each of the nine major occupational groups

[<https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/methodologies/annualpopulationsurveyapsqmi>]. We re-estimated occupational SMRs after subtracting, from total number of deaths in each occupational group / occupation, the proportion (derived from the Annual Population Survey) that may have been unemployed or inactive. We used a similar approach to the specific occupations, but in the absence of reliable occupation-specific employment / inactivity rates, we applied the occupational group rates to all occupations within that group.

## Results

Of the 18,998 suicide deaths among people aged 20 to 64 years between 2011 and 2015, 13,232 (70%) had an occupation recorded on the death certificate. The majority (10,688; 81%) of the suicides were among men. The main reason for the absence of a recorded occupation was that insufficient detail about the nature of the occupation was given by the person registering the death to enable occupational coding or the person did not have an occupation (74%); for the remaining 26% with missing data, the deceased was recorded as retired, permanently sick, unemployed, living by independent means, or a student. Males were less likely than females to have no occupation recorded (70% vs. 81% of all suicides); the mean age of those with missing occupation data was 40 years vs. 44 years among those with occupational data.

### *Males*

Three of the nine major occupation groups had statistically elevated risk of suicide (Figure 1). The lowest risks were seen among managers, directors and senior officials. Low-skilled occupations (i.e., mostly involving routine tasks, often with the use of hand-held tools and, in some cases, requiring a degree of physical effort) had the highest level of risk (SMR = 144, 95% CI 137-151) and accounted for 17% of male suicide deaths where the occupation was stated. The highest level of risk among specific occupations in this group was seen in low-skilled construction workers (SMR = 369, 95% CI 333-409); this occupation also had the highest risk among all individual occupations (Table 1).

The next major group with elevated risk was males working in skilled trades (SMR = 135, 95% CI 130-139). This group also had the highest proportion of deaths, accounting for 29% of all male suicides (3,059 out of 10,688). Skilled trades cover occupations whose tasks involve the performance of complex physical duties that normally require a degree of initiative, manual dexterity and other practical skills. The individual occupations within this group with the highest levels of risk were roofers, roof tilers and slaters (SMR = 266, 95% CI 217-323), and building

finishing trades such as plasterers (SMR = 234, 95% CI 188-287) and painters and decorators (SMR = 204, 95% CI 177-233).

The final major group with elevated risk was males working as process, plant and machine operatives (SMR = 108, 95% CI 103-114). Occupations with particularly high levels of risk within this group were metal working machine operatives (SMR = 207, 95% CI 182-235) and fork-lift truck drivers (SMR = 185, 95% CI 150-225).

Other specific occupations identified as being at high risk included call and contact centre occupations (SMR = 290, 95% CI 204-399), window cleaners (SMR = 224, 95% CI 170-291), farm workers (SMR = 221, 95% CI 165-289), bakers (SMR = 205, 95% CI 135-298), fitness instructors (SMR = 186, 95% CI 120-275), and refuge and salvage occupations (SMR = 184, 95% CI 137-241).

### *Females*

None of the major occupation groups showed statistical evidence of an increased risk of suicide in females; nevertheless, the broad patterns were like those seen in males, but the confidence intervals are wider due to the smaller number of deaths. The lowest risk is seen among managers, directors and senior officials and the highest risks in process plant and machine operatives, low-skilled occupations and skilled trades (Figure 1). Six specific occupations were found to be at high risk (Table 1); with the highest risk seen among artists (SMR 399, 95% CI 244-616) and the greatest number of deaths (n=231) occurring among care workers and home carers (SMR 170 95% CI 149-194).

### *Occupations where there has previously been concern*

Previous research has paid attention to occupations where the high risk of suicide is attributed to the occupation providing access to, and/or knowledge about, a method of suicide. One example is medical professionals, who have access to, and knowledge of, medicines. Among



medical professionals, females had an elevated risk (SMR = 124, 95% CI 109-141), whereas males had a lower risk (SMR = 84, 95% CI 72-97). The elevated risk of suicide among females was largely explained by the high risk among nurses, (SMR = 123, 95% CI 104-145). For males, none of the individual health professions had significantly elevated risk; male doctors had a significantly lower risk (SMR = 59, 95% CI 48-81), and the risk among male nurses was not different to that in the broader population (SMR = 112, 95% CI 86-143).

In the past, there has been concern about males working in agricultural related trades, particularly farmers. In this analysis, there was no evidence of an increased risk among male farmers (SMR = 101, 95% CI 78-130); although, as discussed above, farm workers (those responsible for rearing animals and harvesting crops) were at increased risk. It was only when looking at men working in agricultural trades more generally (e.g., farmers, gardeners) that there was evidence of an elevated risk (SMR = 169, 95% CI 151-188), in part due to the elevated risk among gardeners (SMR=201, 95% CI 173-232).

#### *Other occupations at increased risk*

We identified several occupations at increased risk which have hitherto not been a major focus of concern. First, as well as finding a high risk of suicide among male (SMR = 215, 95% CI 152-295) and female artists (SMR = 399, 95% CI 244-616), we also found high risk among male musicians (SMR = 252, 95% CI 189-328) and male actors, entertainers and presenters (SMR = 241, 95% CI 176-322). Second, we found elevated risk of suicide among male (SMR = 192, 95% CI 165-221) and female (SMR = 170, 95% CI 149-194) care workers and home carers. This occupation concerns those who are paid to attend to the personal needs and comforts of the elderly and the infirm, providing care and support in residential care establishments, day care establishments and service users' homes. Finally, we found elevated risk of suicide among female nursery and primary school teachers (SMR = 142, 95% CI 116-172). However, subsequent analysis of the text on death certificates has shown that this finding

might be explained by the automatic coding of female teachers to this group when the information provided by the informant does not specify the school age taught (i.e. nursery vs. primary vs. secondary).

### *Sensitivity analysis*

Taking account of occupational group differences in unemployment and inactivity had no major impact on our findings, although all SMRs were reduced. Among males, levels of unemployment and inactivity ranged from 8.3% in professional occupations to 22.8% in low-skilled occupations, and in females from 13.5% (professional) to 31.2% (low-skilled) (Table 2). Among males the highest risks were still seen amongst skilled trades (SMR 119, 95% CI 115-124) and low-skilled occupations (SMR 111, 95% CI 105-117) (Web Table 1). In females the highest risks were in process, plant and machine operatives (SMR 88, 95% CI 65-115) and skilled trades (SMR 81, 95% CI 62-103). The relative rankings of specific occupations remained largely unchanged but for some occupations (males: vehicle valeters and cleaners; females: bar staff; waitresses, primary and nursery education teaching professionals and nurses), the 95% CI for the SMRs included 100 (Table 3).

## **Discussion**

### *Main findings*

There are marked variations in suicide risk between people in different occupations. Among males, risks were highest among low-skilled workers and skilled manual workers, particularly those in construction-related jobs and among process, plant and machine operatives. Similar risks were seen among females, but only six specific occupations were associated with high risk

– artists, bar staff, care workers, waitresses, primary and nursery teachers and nurses. In both males and females managers, directors and senior officials have the lowest risk of suicide. Several occupations we identified as being at heightened risk have not previously been highlighted in studies of occupational suicide – these include male and female care workers, people in creative occupations (artists, musicians and presenters), waitresses (females only), and call and contact centre workers (males only).

### *Comparison with earlier studies*

There are several similarities between the present findings and those reported in previous studies. However, here it must be noted that differences between studies could, in part, be a product of the methods used, such as use of the PMR rather than SMR to compare risk. Furthermore, given that the classification of occupations changes over time, it is only possible to make broad comparisons.

Our findings are broadly in keeping with Meltzer et al.'s analysis of suicide by occupation in England and Wales based on deaths from 2001 to 2005; they also found that the highest risk of suicide was among skilled trades and lower-skilled jobs.<sup>6</sup> More recent studies have also identified a high risk of suicide among males in the construction industry, especially low-skilled construction workers.<sup>1</sup> Contributors to risk in such jobs are likely to include low pay, low job security and other aspects of lower socio-economic position.<sup>9</sup> **Error! Bookmark not defined.** Other research has found that suicides in the construction industry may be preceded by high levels of alcohol consumption, relationship problems and multiple stressful life events in the months before death.<sup>5, 18</sup> While research from the 1980s and 1990s, using PMRs to estimate occupational suicide risk generally found an elevated risk of suicide among male health care professionals,<sup>7</sup> more recent studies, using other approaches to estimate risk, show that this is no longer the case.<sup>8,12</sup>

Meltzer et al. (2008) found an elevated risk of suicide among male farmers. In our data, farmers were not at increased risk– a finding which may represent an improvement in this sector. Whilst some previous studies have reported a higher incidence of suicide among artists,<sup>6, 8</sup> few have identified an increased risk in this sector more widely (for example, artists, musicians and entertainers or presenters). Past research has found an association between creativity and psychiatric illness, such as bipolar disorder<sup>19</sup> – a potential explanation of this finding; other possible explanations include greater employment / financial insecurity in this group and higher levels of substance misuse.

Our research also found that some occupations with everyday access to alcohol had increased risk, namely female bar staff and waitresses. The consumption of alcohol is a factor known to increase the risk of suicide.<sup>20</sup> An elevated risk of suicide was also found among carers (both males and females); to our knowledge, this has not been identified previously.

### *Limitations*

There are several potential limitations to our study. First, occupation was not recorded for approximately one third of the suicide deaths. Missing data was more likely for females and younger individuals. It is possible that this missing data, if differential across different occupational groups, may lead to under estimation of risk in some occupations.

The occupational data used in this paper are taken from two separate sources. Occupation at the time of death is reported by the person registering the death and may not contain enough information to enable accurate occupation coding, whereas the distribution of occupations in the general population was self-reported and recorded in detail at the national census. An occupation recorded on the death certificate could also be based on an individual's last meaningful occupation if the deceased was out of work (e.g., due to retirement, being unemployed, being sick etc.). The misalignment between data from two sources may result in numerator-denominator error, however our sensitivity analysis indicated that the ranking of

SMRs in different occupational groups / occupations was largely unchanged when we accounted for differing levels of unemployment and inactivity between occupational groups.

We investigated risk in many occupational groups and individual occupations, and so it is possible that risks highlighted in some occupations, particularly those where risk estimates were based on relatively few deaths, may be chance findings. We reduced the likelihood of this occurring by only describing findings in occupations with at least 20 deaths.

### *Implications of the work*

The work reported here gives an important insight into current patterns of suicide by occupation in England, providing a foundation for targeted suicide prevention initiatives. Measures to reduce risk include training packages designed to address modifiable risk factors in the workplace (e.g. low control, monotony); these packages also help staff to identify and offer support to those who may be at high risk.<sup>21</sup> Studies that have investigated the effectiveness of training programs, such as “Mates in Construction” in Australia, have shown they can result in increased knowledge on risk factors, stigma, and help seeking behaviors.<sup>21</sup> Basic mental health training for managers has also been found to have a positive impact on employee’s sickness absence.<sup>22</sup> There is a need to evaluate such training programs in UK settings.

The occupations with the highest number of suicide deaths among high-risk jobs were: construction occupations (n=380; 3.6% male deaths); metal working machine operatives (n=239; 2.2% male deaths) and care workers and home carers (n=185 males and n=231 females; 1.7% and 9.1% of male female deaths, respectively). These occupations could be considered the most promising targets for intervention.

Whilst our study indicates the relative risk of suicide for different occupational groups, the analysis does not provide any direct evidence concerning causation. For instance, while it is possible that certain factors associated with the job itself (e.g. stress; long hours; low pay) make suicide more or less likely, it could also be the case that people’s characteristics, including their

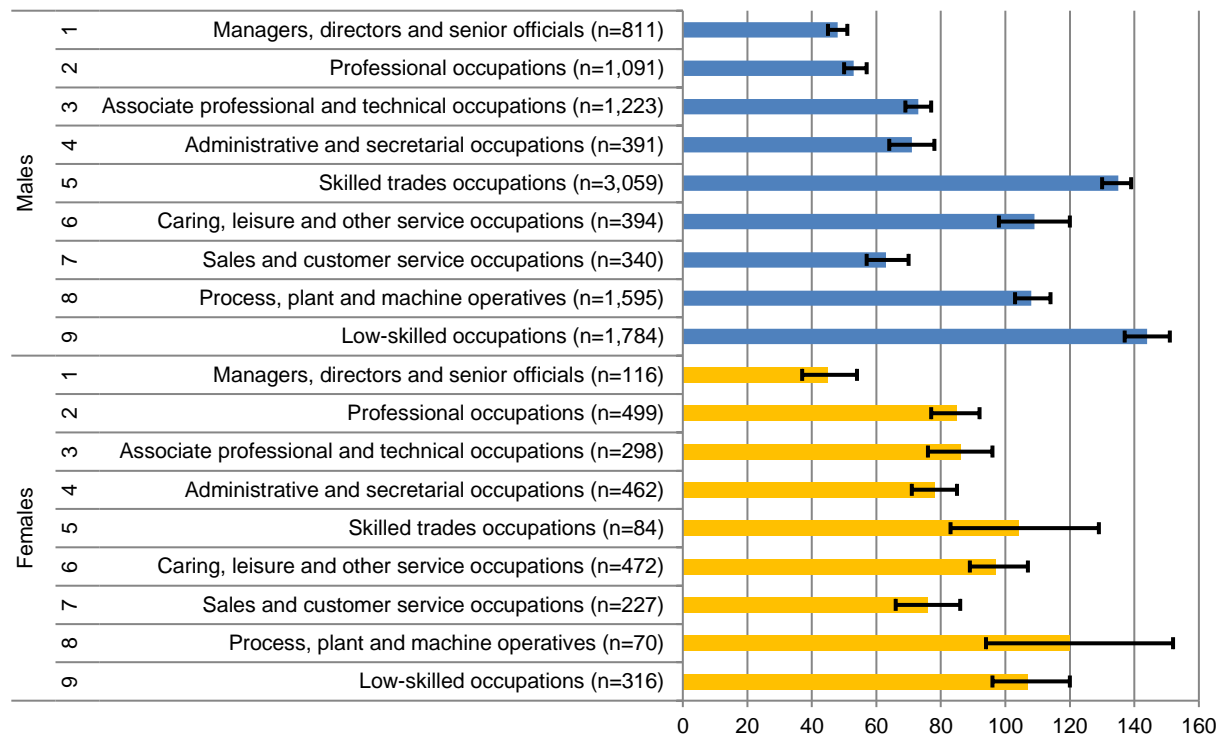
previous history, or risk, of mental illness, attract them to certain occupations. Further detailed research on deaths within occupational groups is needed to delineate explanations for observed patterns of risk.

### **Acknowledgment**

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## Tables and figures

**Figure 1.** Suicide SMRs for major occupation groups<sup>1,2,3</sup>



### Notes

<sup>1</sup> SMR, standardized mortality ratio.

<sup>2</sup> Error bars show 95% confidence intervals; for females, these are much wider due to the smaller number of deaths creating more statistical uncertainty.

<sup>3</sup> "n" details the number of deaths for each group.

**Table 1. Suicide SMRs for specific occupations<sup>1,2,3,4</sup>**

Rank	Code	Description	Suicides, <i>n</i>	SMR (95% CI)
<b>Males aged 20 to 64 years</b>				
1	9120	Low-skilled construction occupations	380	369 (333-409)
2	7211	Call and contact centre occupations	37	290 (204-399)
3	5313	Roofers, roof tilers and slaters	103	266 (217-323)
4	8141	Scaffolders, staggers and riggers	58	260 (198-337)
5	3415	Musicians	54	252 (189-328)
6	3413	Actors, entertainers and presenters	45	241 (176-322)
7	5321	Plasterers	92	234 (188-287)
8	9231	Window cleaners	56	224 (170-291)
9	9111	Farm workers	53	221 (165-289)
10	3411	Artists	38	215 (152-295)
11	8125	Metal working machine operatives	239	207 (182-235)
12	5432	Bakers and flour confectioners	27	205 (135-298)
13	5323	Painters and decorators	214	204 (177-233)
14	5215	Welding trades	96	202 (164-247)
15	5113	Gardeners and landscape gardeners	186	201 (173-232)
16	6145	Care workers and home carers	185	192 (165-221)
17	3443	Fitness instructors	25	186 (120-275)
18	8222	Fork-lift truck drivers	99	185 (150-225)
19	9235	Refuse and salvage occupations	52	184 (137-241)
20	9236	Vehicle valeters and cleaners	35	179 (125-249)
<b>Females aged 20 to 64 years</b>				
1	3411	Artists	20	399 (244-616)
2	9274	Bar staff	30	182 (123-260)
3	6145	Care workers and home carers	231	170 (149-194)
4	9273	Waiters and waitresses	27	156 (103-226)
5	2315	Primary and nursery education teaching professionals	102	142 (116-172)
6	2231	Nurses	148	123 (104-145)

**Notes**<sup>1</sup> SMR, standardized mortality ratio.<sup>2</sup> We ranked occupations with at least 20 deaths.<sup>3</sup> For clarity we excluded individual occupations that specified 'not elsewhere classified' in the title.<sup>4</sup> Females include the top six occupations due to the smaller number of suicides creating more statistical uncertainty at this level of granularity.



**Table 2. Proportion of people in England aged 20 to 64 years who were employed,**

Code	Description	Males (%)			Females (%)		
		Employed	Unemployed	Inactive	Employed	Unemployed	Inactive
1	Managers, directors and senior officials	91.4	2.2	6.4	85.1	2.2	12.7
2	Professional occupations	91.7	2.0	6.3	86.5	1.7	11.8
3	Associate professional and technical occupations	90.5	3.1	6.4	85.9	2.6	11.5
4	Administrative and secretarial occupations	85.2	5.4	9.4	80.2	3.3	16.5
5	Skilled trades occupations	88.4	4.1	7.5	77.8	3.6	18.6
6	Caring, leisure and other service occupations	86.4	4.8	8.8	79.7	3.5	16.9
7	Sales and customer service occupations	82.0	8.7	9.3	73.2	6.0	20.9
8	Process, plant and machine operatives	85.0	5.4	9.6	73.6	5.0	21.5
9	Low-skilled occupations	77.2	11.6	11.2	68.8	6.8	24.4

**unemployed or economically inactive by occupation group, 2011-2015.<sup>1,2,3</sup>**

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Estimates used annual data from the Annual Population Survey (APS; Office for National Statistics), and are based on weighted population denominators that account for survey design and non-response.

<sup>2</sup> During the five-year period, there was a total sample of 284,563 men and 294,632 women – the sample concerned those who provided information on their current main job (if employed at the time of interview) or last main job (if not employed at the time of interview).

<sup>3</sup> International Labour Organisation (ILO) definitions of economic activity are used. Unemployed concerns those who are not currently in work but who are looking for work. Inactive concerns those who are not in work, and not looking for work.

**Table 3. Suicide SMRs for specific occupations, adjusted for economic inactivity.**

Code	Description	Suicides, <i>n</i>	SMR (95% CI)
<b>Males aged 20 to 64 years</b>			
9120	Low-skilled construction occupations	293	285 (253-319)
7211	Call and contact centre occupations	30	237 (158-335)
5313	Roofers, roof tilers and slaters	91	235 (189-289)
8141	Scaffolders, staggers and riggers	49	221 (163-291)
3415	Musicians	49	228 (167-299)
3413	Actors, entertainers and presenters	41	218 (155-294)
5321	Plasterers	81	206 (163-256)
9231	Window cleaners	43	173 (125-232)
9111	Farm workers	41	171 (121-229)
3411	Artists	34	194 (133-269)
8125	Metal working machine operatives	203	176 (153-202)
5432	Bakers and flour confectioners	24	181 (114-267)
5323	Painters and decorators	189	180 (155-207)
5215	Welding trades	85	178 (142-220)
5113	Gardeners and landscape gardeners	164	178 (151-207)
6145	Care workers and home carers	160	166 (141-193)
3443	Fitness instructors	23	168 (106-252)
8222	Fork-lift truck drivers	84	157 (125-194)
9235	Refuse and salvage occupations	40	142 (101-193)
9236	Vehicle valeters and cleaners	27	138 (91-201)
<b>Females aged 20 to 64 years</b>			
3411	Artists	17	343 (198-543)
9274	Bar staff	21	125 (77-191)
6145	Care workers and home carers	184	136 (117-157)
9273	Waiters and waitresses	19	107 (64-167)
2315	Primary and nursery education teaching professionals	88	123 (98-151)
2231	Nurses	128	106 (89-127)

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> SMR, standardized mortality ratio.

<sup>2</sup> Table excludes deaths where the deceased may have been unemployed or economically inactive at the time of death.

**Web Table 1. Suicide SMRs for grouped occupations, adjusted for economic inactivity.**

Code	Description	Males		Females	
		Suicides, <i>n</i>	SMR (95% CI)	Suicides, <i>n</i>	SMR (95% CI)
1	Managers, directors and senior officials	741	44 (41-47)	99	38 (31-46)
2	Professional occupations	1,000	49 (46-52)	432	73 (66-80)
3	Associate professional and technical occupations	1,106	66 (62-70)	256	74 (65-83)
4	Administrative and secretarial occupations	333	60 (54-67)	371	63 (56-69)
5	Skilled trades occupations	2,704	119 (115-124)	65	81 (62-103)
6	Caring, leisure and other service occupations	340	94 (84-104)	376	78 (70-86)
7	Sales and customer service occupations	279	52 (46-58)	166	56 (47-65)
8	Process, plant and machine operatives	1,356	92 (87-97)	51	88 (65-115)
9	Low-skilled occupations	1,378	111 (105-117)	217	74 (64-84)

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> SMR, standardized mortality ratio.

<sup>2</sup> Table excludes deaths where the deceased may have been unemployed or economically inactive at the time of death.

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